THE SIGHS OF FRANCE IN SLAVERY, Breathing after LIBERTY.

By Way of

MEMORIAL.

Done out of *FRENCH.*

LONDON,
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The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THese two Memorials *I now give you, were ſent me from* France, *and as I am in hopes of having frequently the like, I ſhall take great Delight in Imparting them to the Publick: And the rather, ſince this Pourtraict of the preſent* French *Government, will give an Idea of what ours would have been, had King* James *continued upon the Throne.*

Licenſed according to Order.

IV

THE SIGHS of FRANCE in SLAVERY, &c.

I. Memorial, *Of the First of* September, 1689.

Of the Oppreſſion of the Church, of the Parliaments, of the Nobles, and Cities.

IT ſeems a fond ſaying, That People are not the leſs wretched for having ſeveral Companions in their Miſeries, ſince it is certainly true, that the Heart ſuffers much more, when it ſuffers in the midſt of all others who are happy. Among all the Goods whoſe loſs we have reaſon to bewail, Liberty is, doubtleſs, of the principal. It is a hard matter to be a Slave in the midſt of a thouſand free Perſons, without being concern'd at ones ſlavery: Wherefore *France* ought to rouze up it ſelf, and feel the Weight of the diſmal Slavery it groans under, conſidering the bleſſed Liberty other Neighbouring States enjoy under their Lawful Princes, and in the poſſeſſion of their ancient Laws: And the Felicity *England* has newly obtained, by ſeeing the Fetters broken with which it was upon the point of being ſhackled, ought to revive and ſtirre up anew in the Boſoms

of all good *French*-men, Love for their Countrey, Deſires for the Return of Liberty, and the Deſign of ſhaking off that hideous Yoak that reſts upon their ſhoulders. We ſee all around us, the *Hollanders* enjoying a happy Freedom; the *Flemmings* under the King of *Spains* Government poſſeſſing their ancient Priviledges, the *States* of the *Empire* living under a *Head* not in a Condition to oppreſs them, the *Free Cities* in *Germany* retaining the Form of Republicks; the States and Provinces ſubjected to the Electours and other Princes, basking in the repoſe of their Fortune under a Government mild and moderate. *France* alone, the fineſt Countrey in *Europe*, the Nobleſt part of the World, finds it ſelf ſubjected to a Sway cruel, tyrannick, and to a Power that ſets it ſelf no bounds: A free People, and who have derived the name of *Francks* or *French-men* from their ancient Liberty, are now under the greateſt ſubjection of all People, without excepting thoſe that groan under the Tyranny of the *Turks*. Now all Freedom is loſt, even to that of ſpeaking and bemoaning: Wherefore I ſend my Voice to Foreign Countreys, in hopes it will return thence by Reflexion, and that it will awake anew my Countrey-men who ſleep beſide me under the weights of their Chains. With compaſſion do I view the cruel Tempeſt wherewith my Countrey is menac'd, I bewail the Deſolation of its Cities, the Death of its Children, and the loſs of what the Tyranny of its Government has left it remaining: I cannot forbear wiſhing it a Recovery of *Reaſon* and *Courage*. Of *Reaſon*, that ſo it may apprehend that the Priviledges of the People do not ſuffer any Preſcription, and do not periſh by the Uſurpation of the Princes, and that thus an Age or two of Tyranny do not take away the Right of recovering its Liberty. Of *Courage*, that ſo it may lay hold on the preſent Circumſtances, the moſt propitious that ever were for reducing the Government of the Realm to its Ancient Form, and to caſt off the Yoak of this Deſpotick Power, according to which the *French* are treated with a harſhneſs unknown to all people who live under *Chriſtian* Princes. With the Intereſt of the People I cannot forbear conſidering the Intereſt of the Prince, lawful Heir to the Throne, to whom the

the Court is going to leave a Skeleton of a Kingdom, and an imaginary Crown. That Prince in the Campagne of *Fri[illegible]sbourg* shew'd himself not only brave and prudent, but full of good Nature: He now groans at the Infernal Barbarities that are exercised in the same places where he had exercised so much Humanity; and we are assured that he will much rather choose to Reign as a Father under the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, than to command as a Tyrant that sets himself above the Laws. Wherefore my Design is to perform these Four things in this Tract. 1. To shew the Oppression and Tyranny under which all the Orders of *France* do groan, and the Misery they are reduc'd to under a Despotick power. 2. To consider in the second place, by what means the Court of *France* establishes its Yoak, and now upholds its absolute Power, and the Abuse it makes of it. 3. We shall see how much the present Government of *France* is different from that under which the Monarchy was founded, and wherein it subsisted so many Ages. 4. And lastly, We shall examine by what Means the favourable Circumstances of the present time may be improv'd for the reducing the Monarchy to its Ancient Government.

For the understanding how great the Oppression is which *France* groans under, we have only to consider the Scituation of the Parts which compose the State. The Church is certainly the First, the Noblest, and that which has ever retained the greatest Priviledges, and the most of Liberty. But now in *France* the Church is subjected to the Tyranny of the Government, as well as all the rest: The *French* Kings have made themselves *Popes*, *Mufti's*, *High Priests*, and absolute Princes over Sacred things; the Name of Papal Dignity and its Authority, are now there no more than meer Phantomes. The Priests of *Jesus Christ* are Slaves, the Holy Houses and consecrated to God, are expos'd to the Furies of the Souldiery; Faith it-self, and the Mysteries, depend absolutely on the Sovereign's Will. To render this sensible, I will not go far back; it is sufficient to set before our Eyes what has pass'd in our dayes, and in our own Remembrance. Let's call to mind, for Example, after what manner the Affair of the Five

Propoſi-

Propoſitions of *Janſenius* has been handled. The Court of *France* caus'd that Controverſie to be defin'd at *Rome* as it pleas'd, after which there is no ſort of Violence but which it committed and exercis'd for the ſubjecting the Diſciples of St. *Auguſtine* to the Deciſions it had by ſurprize obtain'd from the Court of *Rome*. It's well known what a noiſe the Formulary occaſion'd; how the Court caus'd a Form of Oath to be made, by which People acknowledg'd, not only that the five Propoſitions were Heretical, but that they were in *Janſenius*; that is to ſay, that the Court would needs then have the Pope to be Infallible, not only in matters of Right, but in matters of Fact; and all thoſe who would not go along with this Current were depriv'd of their Benefices, drove away, baniſh'd, plung'd into darkſome Priſons: Above ſixty of the Doctors of *Sorbonne* were turn'd out, exil'd and confin'd; the Houſes of the Religious Maids that would not obey, ſuffer'd Violence, and were diſpers'd. It is now Forty Years that the Court has continued this Perſecution, and ſtill at this day a vaſt number of Holy Prieſts are in Exile, in Priſons and Sufferings, for that they will not renounce the Grace of *Jeſus Chriſt* efficacious by it ſelf. Is this an Affair for the Court to intermeddle withall? is it not extending its Empire farther than that of God, which in things which are not of a ſovereign neceſſity would have us mutually bear with one another? at leaſt it is a matter to be left to the Church to diſpatch, it is purely of its Reſort; wherefore in this Caſe there ought not to be employ'd either Impriſonments, or Baniſhment, or Violence, or Royal Authority.

After the Affair of the *five Propoſitions* is come that of the *Regalia*; it is a Right by which the *French* Kings pretend to the Power of receiving the Fruits of vacant Biſhopricks, and to ſupply, during the Vacancy, all the Benefices and Cures of Souls that fall vacant, and which are at the Biſhops Nomination: The Affair ſeem'd to have been regula-ted in the General Council of *Lyons*; wherein it was forbidden to extend the *Regalia* over ſuch Biſhopricks where that Right had not been before exercis'd: Several Biſhops of *France* enjoy'd this Immunity: *Lewis* the Fourteenth has bethought himſelf

ſelf of ſubjecting them all to this Yoke. The Biſhops of *Alet* and *Pamiers*, two of the moſt Holy Men of their Age, would not give way to the unjuſt Decrees and Acts which the King cauſed to paſs in his Council, where he was Judge and Party, in a Matter that ought to depend on the Holy See or a Council; and becauſe that theſe holy Biſhops addreſs'd themſelves to the Holy See, that ſo the Pope might employ his Authority in maintenance of the Priviledges of the Church, it is paſt all expreſſing, what cruel Perſecutions the two Churches of *Alet* and *Pamiers* were expoſed to: The Biſhops and Chapters were deprived of their Temporalty, of Patrimonial Goods and Eſtates, and the Canons and Biſhops were ſeiz'd; and thus they were reduced to the utmoſt Poverty, and this with ſo much Inhumanity, that their Friends were not allow'd to give them Alms; they have been baniſhed into, and confin'd to Deſarts, they have been Impriſon'd, menaced with, and condemn'd to the ſevereſt Deaths; inſomuch that the Court caus'd an Act or Sentence to paſs in the Parliament of *Tholouſe*, which condemns one of the great Vicars of *Pamiers* to have his Head ſtruck off by the hand of the Executioner, which was accordingly executed upon his Effigies, for that they could not ſeize on his Perſon; All ſuch as had any ties of Kindred or Friendſhip with thoſe two Biſhops, their great Vicars, their Canons or Officers, were treated in like manner; they have been baniſh'd to the fartheſt parts of the Kingdom, or thrown into Priſons, where they ſtill ſuffer the utmoſt indignities and extreameſt miſeries.

The King to have a boundleſs Empire over the Church, after having eſtabliſh'd his Power over the Biſhops, would needs extend it over all Religious Houſes. It's well known that there were many that ſtill retain'd the Priviledge that was formerly common to all the Societies of Men and Women, which was that of reſpectively chooſing Superiours of the Sex of each reſpective Houſe; whereas now the Superiours of either Sex muſt be appointed by the Court, that ſo having its Creatures every where, it may reign every where: And as it takes to its ſelf the Power of placing Superiours throughout, it recalls and changes them at pleaſure, that ſo the

the Slavery may be to the Sovereign degree, and that no Perſon may be any longer permitted to do his Duty towards God, ſave as far forth as ſhall be pleaſing to the King. It is in conſequence of this Reſolution that the Maidens of *Saint Claire* have been Perſecuted, they being called *Urbaniſts*; as alſo the Houſe of *Charonni*, and of the Order of *Cluni*; in all theſe Houſes have been introduced with the utmoſt violence Superiours of both ſexes at the King's Nomination; the Doors have been broke open, the moſt ſacred Sanctuaries violated, the Nuns have been taken away by force, they have been baniſh'd, impriſon'd, and made to ſuffer all ſorts of miſchiefs. The Abby of *Clugny*, which is a religious Order, had always retain'd the Priviledge of electing its own Abbots, but it has been judg'd expedient not to have any regard to a Priviledge as ancient as the Order it ſelf: The Court has annull'd the Election which the Religious had made of an Abbot regular, and of Authority, the Abby has been given to the Cardinal *de Bouillon*, that ſo the Court might have there a Slave to be the Tyrant of the Order, and anſwer for it to the Court. If things have turn'd otherwiſe, and if the Cardinal of *Bouillon* has not prov'd a Friend of the preſent Government, this renders not the Violence the leſs great.

Becauſe that there is of the Temporal in Benefices, Princes have at leaſt ſome pretext to aim at being Maſters of the Collation; but the King, without any ſhadow of pretext has render'd himſelf abſolute Maſter of what is moſt ſpiritual in the Church. At preſent the Faith of the Church depends on the Princes Authority. He cauſes to be held before his Eyes, and in his *Metropolis*, tumultuous Aſſemblies, compos'd of his own Creatures, and of Court Biſhops; therein he cauſes to be decided, with full Authority, the niceſt and moſt important matters. He ſubmits the *Pope* to the *Council*, he deprives him of the Power of Excommunicating Kings; he declares that he is ſubject to Errour; he backs theſe temerarious Deciſions with his own Royal Declarations; and if any one dares to own that he does not ſubmit his Judgment to theſe Deciſions, he is the object of the moſt cruel Perſecution that can be imagin'd; he is to expect Impriſonment, Baniſhment, and Death it ſelf.

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The World has ever look'd upon the Authority of eſtabliſhing new Orders, and of ruining thoſe that are eſtabliſh'd, as a Right annex'd to the Holy See: But the King has put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that Right. It is univerſally known how the Maidens *de l'Enfance* were eſtabliſh'd at *Toulouſe*, under the Direction of Madam *de Mondouville*, and by the *Pope*'s permiſſion: Now for that the Directors of that Houſe were ſuſpected of being of the number of thoſe called *Janſeniſts*, the Houſes of that Order have been ruin'd, the Abbeſs taken up and confin'd in the Houſe of the *Hoſpitalieres*, near two hundred Maids of the *Enfance* turn'd out of their Houſes, pull'd from their Sanctuaries by Soldiers and Serjeants, and reduc'd to the utmoſt extremities.

If any thing be of the Juriſdiction of the *Church*, it is indubitable that the Verſions of the Holy Writ are of that kind. The Word of God is the Milk of that Mother with which ſhe nouriſhes her Children; it is for her to diſpenſe it according to her Wiſdom, and according to Neceſſities: Nevertheleſs the *French* Court has taken upon it, to regulate our Lectures and our private Devotions; becauſe that the Verſion of *Mons* comes from Perſons who are no Friends of the Court, though they be moſt *Catholick*; that Verſion muſt needs be empoyſon'd, that the Doctrine of Heaven muſt needs be become dangerous; by the King's Authority the Publication and Reading of it are forbidden upon the utmoſt Penalties. The ſame Courſe is taken with all other Books of Piety and Religion: it is ſufficient that they have been compiled by Doctors hated by the Court to render them bad; they are forbidden entrance into the Kingdom, the Intendants that ſuffer them to come in are diſgraced, and the Eccleſiaſticks who receive them are condemned to perpetual Impriſonments, wherein the loſs of Liberty is the leaſt evil they are made to ſuffer.

When it pleaſes the King to fall out with the Pope, and appeal from his juſteſt Proceedings, the *Gallican* Church muſt adhere to this Revolt: All Biſhops, Chapters, Univerſities, Religious Houſes, as well Men as Women, are oblidg'd thereunto: Orders are ſent then to conform to the King's Will,

and to ſign them; if they are wanting therein, they are ſure to meet with the ſevereſt Puniſhments: is not this the utmoſt Violence; and where is the freedom of the Church, and of Suffrages?

But what is all this in compariſon of what the Church has been oblig'd to do in the Perſecution that has been excited againſt the *Calviniſts?* I ſay nothing of that Perſecution it ſelf; the King will quickly ſee all he has gain'd by this Conduct; it has already coſt the King of *England* his Crown. This it is that has drawn upon *France* the moſt horrible Tempeſt that was ever form'd: The Church is, doubtleſs, concern'd in theſe troubles, not only as a Member of the State, but becauſe in its own particular it runs a riſque of ſuffering much, leaving however this apart, what reaſon has it not to complain of the Violence that has been done to it: It is conſtrain'd to receive thoſe whom it ought to look upon as Doggs and Swine in the Lord's Flock; it is forced to prophane the moſt ſacred Myſteries, by expoſing them to the ſight of the Incredulous; it is compell'd, which creates a horrour to ſay and think, to expoſe the precious Body of its Saviour to the greateſt of all Outrages. The Church is conſtrain'd to grant Communion to People who make profeſſion of abominating our Myſteries: Who is it that does this? It is the King, the King will have it ſo; and accordingly Orders are given to the Biſhops, and wherever they are not executed, the Eccleſiaſticks are in the Diſgrace of the Court. The *Calviniſts* have juſt occaſion to complain of theſe Violences; but the *Gallican* Church has ſtill more reaſon: The *Calviniſts* communicate againſt their Wills in kinds which they only look upon as Bread and Wine, and thus they only prophane the ſymbols; but the Church is oblig'd to prophane the Fleſh and Blood of its Saviour, and cauſe them to be eaten by the Prophane; this is certainly the utmoſt Violence, and a ſovereign Impiety: Is this an Affair within the juriſdiction of a temporal Prince? Ought not the Pope to be conſulted upon the means of the Converſion of the *Calviniſts?* Ought it not to be known of Him whether according to the Cannons it is allowable to force Hereticks

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to aſſiſt at the Celebration of the Maſs? Ought it not likewiſe to be known of him, whether it be convenient to force to the Communion People not perſwaded? Inſtead of this, the King of his own Authority decides the niceſt Caſes of Conſcience, without conſulting other than one Confeſſor and ſome Court-Biſhops, and conſtrains the whole *Gallican* Church to ſubmit to his Deciſions. If this be not oppreſſing the Church, I underſtand nothing of the matter: And after this it is taken ill, that the *Pope* does not cauſe his Palace to ring with *Hallelujahs*, and that he looks with ſo much indifference upon the Converſions made without his Authority, and againſt the Laws of the Church.

Laſtly, To be perſwaded of the Oppreſſion which the *Gallican* Church ſuffers, there needs no more than to caſt our eyes about. We ſhall ſee the Priſons are full of Prieſts, that ſeveral of them ſuffer extream miſeries in the Priſons, that ſeveral are dead in them, of Hunger, Cold, and all ſorts Calamities. We ought to conſider the ſad Eſtate and abject Scituation wherein are all the Lower Eccleſiaſticks. The King raiſes Taxes under the name of *Gratuitous* Gifts upon the Clergy, which drain them, and render them miſerable. The truth is, that the Biſhops, and all thoſe who hold great Benefices, find means to get from under this great Burden; but it becomes but the heavier to the Lower Clergy: The Curats bear the Burden; the Tenths are augmented: And many have not the Quarter-part of what belongs to them, for the maintaining themſelves in a Condition of doing Honour to the Church, but are to pay a great ſhare of their little Benefices to the King. This occaſions the Curats to be poor, and wretched, and deſpiſed. Formerly all was Sacred in the Church, both Goods, Eſtates and Perſons; none dar'd to touch any thing that belonged to it, without incurring Excommunication. There was, doubtleſs, a great deal of Exceſs in theſe Immunities, extended too far: But now Affairs are puſh'd into another Extremity; now neither any Character or *Azylum* is inviolable: Tyranny ſubdues all.

Parliaments are the moſt Auguſt part of the State, they are naturally the Temples of Juſtice, the Sanctuaries and the

Protectors of Perſecuted Innocence: We ſhall hereafter ſee what their Priviledges were formerly. Now a dayes they are Companies without Authority, and almoſt without Honour, by reaſon of the baſeneſs and Injuſtice they are obliged to commit, to pleaſe the Court. Daily the King not only nulls the Decrees and Sentences of the Soveraign Courts, but he forces their Opinions: Now there is no longer any Code, or *Digeſt*, or Cuſtom; Letters under the Privy Signet make all the *French* Law and Right: However unjuſt a procedure may be, it is ſufficient that it pleaſes the Court to be Authorized. The Parliament of *Paris* was formerly a Bulwark againſt Tyranny; now it is the chief Inſtrument of it: It muſt verifie all the Edicts, the moſt cruel, and the moſt oppoſite to the weal of the State, to the Liberty and Quiet of the People: If it dar'd to make uſe of the Right it has of oppoſing unjuſt Edicts and Declarations, it would certainly be interdicted the next day, and its Members plung'd into Dungeons: Inferiour Tribunals are fallen into the ſame ſlavery; the Intendants of Provinces deprive them of all their Juriſdiction. They draw before them all Juſtice; and when an Innocent is to be condemned, the Intendant obtains a Commiſſion from the Court: He culls out of ſeveral Preſidials People the moſt devoted to the Court, and pronounces according to the Orders he has received from above. Thus, properly, do they make a Mock of God and Juſtice: Informations are taken, the Judges are made to opine upon an Affair already Judg'd, and upon Proceſſes that come ready done and decided from *Verſailles*. Places are made Vendible, they ſqueeze Money out of every thing, and by this means Juſtice it ſelf is ſold: The people are ſpent by endleſs procedures, and thus all periſh.

The *Nobleſſe* ought to be the Strength and Ornament of the State; certain it is, that formerly it almoſt ſhar'd the Soveraignty with the Kings, as will be made out hereafter. And indeed it was then the terrour of all *Europe*, and form'd the moſt illuſtrious Body in the World: Now it is in a Dejection which renders it the Contempt of the whole Earth. It is reduc'd to a ſmall Number, what remains is beggarly and

and miſera'ble: The foolish Expence which Kings have not taken care to regulate, may partly be the Cauſe of this Diſorder: But the Oppreſſion and Tyranny of the Government have occaſion'd it much more. This Nobleſs had formerly great Priviledges, now it is reduc'd to extremity as well as the reſt of the State, and the Priviledges of the Nobles are no more than Shadows and Cobwebs that skreen them not from any thing. Their Farmers and their Lands pay the King ſuch exceſſive Impoſts, that the whole Revenue of the Fund is conſumed. Under pretext of Remedying ſome Diſorders, which undoubtedly deſerv'd to be minded, Intendants have been ſent into the Provinces, who exerciſe over the Nobles an inſupportable Empire, and reduce it to Slavery. Now a Gentleman muſt have more than Right to gain his Proceſs againſt a Peaſant. A Serjeant of a Town inſults his Lord, and is ſure of being protected in all his Violences: The Lands and Farmers of Gentlemen far from being protected, are more burdened than others. The Gentleman now can no longer make any thing ſave of one parcel of Ground in his hands; the reſt may be ſaid to be for the King. But alas! there are very few Gentlemen that are in this Perplexity thrô the plurality of Lands; they have hardly one to dwell upon. All the ancient Nobles of *France* are reduced to Beggery.

In the room of the ancient Noôles, there ſtarts up new Nobles, who derive their Origine from the Favour of the Court, and their being employ'd in the Crown Revenues: Theſe People purchaſe and poſſeſs all the beſt Lands in the Kingdom, and exerciſe over the ancient Gentlemen a kind of Deſpotick Empire: When they come to ſpend ſome Months in the Countrey, all the ancient Nobles flock in to cringe and creep to them: And many are there of Families that would not formerly have had a Domeſtick of ſo mean a Birth as the new Lord, think themſelves moſt happy in that they can find room at his Table, to have the advantage of ſome Meals. This it is that has baſtarded the Nobles of *France*, formerly ſo fam'd for their Courage and Bravery. The new Nobles have not deriv'd from their Anceſtors the Blood that makes Courage, and the ancient Nobles have loſt it through the Habit

bit of Slavery, through the Miſery and ſordidneſs wherein they are engaged by their preſent Condition. Beſides, they are ſo leſſen'd, that in *Cantons* where were formerly a hundred Families of Gentlemen, all making Figures, you ſhall not now find ten. The reſt are as it were abyſs'd and ſunk into the Earth: And the Government is at work to alter the Houſes which ſtill ſubſiſt, by the means that have ruin'd the others. However, it has recourſe to theſe wretched Nobles when the Arriere-ban is to be brought on foot, being one of the Means made uſe of to oppreſs it: And the Gentlemen muſt furniſh what they have not.

There are Provinces where a hundred Piſtolls cannot be found among the Nobility; and yet muſt they fit themſelves with Arms, Horſes and Servants to march to the Arriereban. You may judge how ſuch a Troop can be equipped, and what Exploits are to be expected from them. Becauſe that the *French* Nobility in the Kings Minority had manifeſted ſome good Intentions for the publick Weal and for Liberty, the Court reſolv'd to humble it; and they have done it to ſuch a Degree, that never was body in ſo low an eſtate. People ought not to flatter themſelves, nought but the change of the Government can make the Gentlemen change their Condition, and mount anew the ancient Nobility to that point of Glory it was formerly in.

Not a Kingdom is there wherein there are ſo many great and fair Cities as in *France*; herein conſiſted its ſtrength. The Cities formerly did a little ſtand upon their Rights, by reaſon they were the Refuge and Retreat of ſuch as were willing to withdraw themſelves from the exceſſive Burdens of the Impoſts. The greater part of theſe Cities had fair Priviledges, and more eſpecially they enjoy'd exemption from Taxes. Wherefore as ſoon as an honeſt Peaſant, or an Inhabitant of a ſmall City had acquired ſome Subſtance by his Induſtry, he took Refuge in a free Town, there to preſerve what he had acquired. Now there is no *Azylum* againſt Tyranny. The Franchizes of the Cities, as well as the Priviledges of the other Bodies of the State, are no other than ſhadows and Names. They are ſtill free Cities, pay no Taxes,

but

but a thouſand means have been contrived to oppreſs and ruine them. Great Cities had Revenues, they had in hand the Funds of ſundry Individuals whoſe Credit they did not fail of, and when they were obliged to extraordinary Expences, they met with no difficulty in finding out Money, becauſe that the Town-houſes punctually paid their Rents by the Means of the * *Deniers d' Octroy* which they enjoy'd, and by the power they had of impoſing upon their Citizens ſmall Taxes for the Maintenance of the Publick. The King has ſeized on all their Moneys or *Deniers d' Octroy*: He has taken all the Revenues from the Town-houſes: The Individuals are not paid, ſomething is yearly retrench'd from them, and in ſhort, all is reduc'd to nothing. It is not to be reckon'd how many Individuals are become ruin'd and put hard to it by theſe means. The Cities have intirely loſt their Credit; they muſt periſh ſooner than be able to borrow the ſmalleſt ſumm; becauſe all that ſhould be lent to them would be look'd upon as loſt. The Cities pay no Taxes, but the Court requires of them, Subſiſtances, Winter-quarters, gratuitous Gifts: They raiſe *les Ayzes*; Impoſts are laid upon Wine, Corn, the Mark of Money, and of Tynne, upon Tobacco, Paper, Executions of Judgements, Salt, the Chaces of Cities and Eſtates. The preſent Government has made a mighty clutter about, and challenges great Honour to it ſelf for having better'd the Commerce of *France*. The late M. *Colbert* took great pains about it: In order to it he cauſed an *Eaſt-India* Company to be erected; ſet up Manufactures of Cloaths, Barracans, Chamlets, and other foreign Stuffs; that ſo we might find in *France* all we ſhould have occaſion for, and that our Money might not go to Strangers: But this has not leſſened the miſery, and Commerce inſtead of augmenting, is annihilated: becauſe that Traffick only ſubſiſts in the going about of Money: Now the King by the terrible and exceſſive Taxes which he has raiſed upon all Merchandizes, has drawn to himſelf all the Money. And thus the ſource of Trade is drain'd: There are no ſorts of Rigours and Cruelties but have been exerciſed by the

* *Moneys which ſeveral Cities rais'd at pleaſure upon themſelves, by particular Grants from Kings.*

the Farmers of the Cuſtoms upon Merchants; a thouſand Rogueries to find occaſion to make Confiſcations; Merchandizes unjuſtly ſeized, ſpoiled, and are conſumed. Beſides this, certain Merchants through the Courts favour have monopolized Trade, and procur'd certain Priviledges to exclude all others thence, which has ruined an infinite number of people: And in fine, the Prohibition of Foreign Commodities far from having redounded to the advantage of Traffick, has, on the contrary, ruin'd it. It is not conſidered that Money is the Soul of Commerce, and that the life of Money is in Motion. Commerce is only foſtered by the paſſing of Money from one Countrey to another. We ſend our Corn, our Wines, our Manufactures to Foreigners, they ſend us Salt-fiſh, Spices, and their Stuffs, and Money rolls by this means. We have taught Strangers a Secret which they make uſe of to our Ruine: We muſt needs be without their Woollen-ſtuffes, they have found the means to ſet up Silk Manufactures, and to imitate our Stuffes; which is the occaſion that Commerce is utterly ruined, and that of ſeven or eight thouſand Trades that work'd at *Tours*, there are not now above Eight or nine hundred: And all this through the Deſpotick and ſoveraign ſway that values it ſelf upon doing all according to its Fancy, upon giving a new train to every thing, and reforming all things with an abſolute Power. The Perſecution of the *Huguenots*, another Effect of this Tyrannick Power, has put the laſt hand to the r of Commerce: Becauſe that thoſe People were excluded Offices, they apply'd themſelves wholly to Trade, tr n Corn, Wines and Manufactures: Now the Perſecuti nas been exercis'd againſt them, has oblig'd them to be go as for what Money there was in the hands of *Huguenot* M ts, they found it much more eaſie than others to wi And in going away, they have carried out of the n immenſe ſumms, which have drawn dry the Fount. Commerce; ſuch as ſtaid, have ſhut up their Purſes, they ade no longer, they think to ſettle matters by little and little in order to be gone. Thus are the Cities fall'n into miſery by the Tyranny of the Government, as well as the reſt of the Kingdom.

The End of the Firſt Memorial.

THE

SIGHS

OF

FRANCE

IN

SLAVERY,

Breathing after

LIBERTY.

The SECOND

MEMORIAL.

Done out of *FRENCH.*

LONDON,

Printed for *D. Newman* at the *Kings Arms* in the *Poultrey*, 1689.

THE

SIGHS of FRANCE in SLAVERY, &c.

II. Memorial.

Of the Fifteenth of September, 1689.

Of the Oppreſſion of the People; of the Exceſſive Impoſts, and of the ill laying out of the Revenues.

After the *Oppreſſion* of the *Church*, of the *Nobles*, of the *Parliaments*, and the *Cities*, we muſt ſee the *Oppreſſion* of the People. It is fitting firſt to underſtand that in the preſent Government all is People. Quality, Diſtinction, Merit and Birth, are things no longer known. The Royal Authority is mounted ſo high, that all Diſtinctions vaniſh, all Lights are ſwallowed up: For in the Elevation that Monarch has attain'd to, all Humane Mortals are but the Duſt of his Feet. Thus under the name of the People, Oppreſſion and Miſery have been ſpread over the Nobleſt and moſt elevated parts of the State. This Oppreſſion of the People is firſt occaſion'd by the prodigious number of Impoſts, and by the exceſſive Leavies of Moneys that are made throughout all *France*. The matter of Impoſts and Finances is now a-days a Science in *France*, and a man muſt be very ſhrow and able

to ſpeak of them pertinently: but it is ſufficient that we ſay what we feel of them, and what the People know of them. There is a perſonal Tax, and a real Tax. There is an Impoſt upon Salt, upon Wines, upon Merchandizes, upon Funds, upon Rents. This unhappy Age has produc'd a Volume of Names, moſt of which were unknown to our Anceſtors: or if any of thoſe Names were known, they were not odious, by reaſon of the Moderation with which Tributes were impos'd and laid. Now a thouſand Channels are open'd, through which the Blood of the People and Subjects is drawn, to be made to pour into the Abyſs of the Princes inſatiable greedineſs and immoderate Ambition. This is term'd *Taille*, *Gabelle*, *Aydes*, *Domaines*, *Douanes*, *Taillen*, *Subſiſtence*, *Winter-quarters*, *Garriſons*, *Marks of Silver and Tinne*, *Law*; *Paper*, *Francſeille*, *Impoſt upon Tobacco*, *Controole des Exploits*, *Griffe des Affirmations*, *Ayzez*, *Francfiefs*, *Enquiries by the Courts of Juſtice*, *Duties upon Wood*, *Entretiens de Turfies and Levies*, *Duties upon Water and Foreſts*, *Ban and Arriereban*, *whence there is no Redemption ſave by paying*; *Parties Caſuelles*, *Sales of Offices of Juſtice*, *Policy and Financy*, *Creation of new Rents*, *creation of new Offices*, *Polette*, *Finances for the preparation of Places*, *Taxes upon thoſe that have manag'd the Kings Affairs*; and an infinite number of others that do not occurre to our Memory; or which perhaps we know not, they being little known ſave by thoſe that are concern'd in them. And it is of no uſe for my Intention, to make known to you the particulars of thoſe Impoſts, for the making you ſenſible of their Injuſtice and Weight. It is ſufficient for the ſcope we have propoſed to our ſelves, to make known to you the horrible Oppreſſion of thoſe Impoſts.

1. By the Immenſe Summs that are exacted.

2. By the violence and exceſſes that are committed in raiſing them.

3. By the ill Uſe that is made of them.

4. And laſtly, by the Miſery the People are reduced to.

Firſt, Dear and unhappy Countreymen, you muſt know, that the Impoſts which are exacted of you, do poſſibly make up a greater ſumm than that which all the Princes of

of *Europe* together do derive from their Dominions. It is certain that *France* pays two hundred Millions in Impoſts, near three quarters whereof go into the King's Coffers, and the reſt goes for the Charges of the gathering, for the Farmers, for the Officers, for the Guards, for the Receivers, for the gains of the Financiers, and to erect new Fortunes, which are almoſt made in a day. For the raiſing the bare Impoſt on Salt, there is a vaſt Army of Officers and Archers: Now I lay it down as matter of Fact, and which I would prove at the peril of my Life, that all the Kings of *Spain*, *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, the Emperor, all the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, the Republicks of *Venice* and *Holland*, out of time of War do not derive from their Dominions two hundred Millions of ordinary Tribute; the thing is notorious, and I fancy that no body calls it in queſtion. I beſeech you to have attention to this, and examine whether ever prodigy of Tyranny proceeded ſo far: Now on the other ſide there is no ſaying that *France* is as large as the reſt of *Europe*, for it makes but the tenth part of it; nor is it to be ſaid that it is a ſign of its Wealth, for *France* has its ſandy Grounds and its Deſarts as well as other Countries; it has very good and very fertile *Cantons*, but other Countries have alſo the like; it has nothing that comes near the fertility of *Flanders*, and of *Holland*, or of *Hungary*; it has fewer uncultivated Lands than *Spain*, it has full as many as *Germany* and *Italy*: thus there is no other cauſe of thoſe immenſe Revenues of the Crown than the Violence and Tyranny of the Government; this is a ſenſible proof of it, and againſt which nothing can be anſwer'd. The Court does annually exact of the Realm, poſſibly four or five times more than there is Money in Commerce; and if the Treaſury had all at once, all that is drawn from the State, there would not be ſo much as one ſingle Penny in the reſt of the Kingdom: Thus all the Money in *France* muſt paſs four or five times at leaſt through the Hands of the King's Officers.

If the Tyranny is evident and clear, in the immenſe ſumms which are raiſed upon *France*, it is no leſs ſo in the manner of raiſing them. People have eſtabliſh'd Kings for the preſervation of the Perſons, Lives, Liberties and Goods of individuals; but the Government of *France* is mounted to that exceſs of Tyranny, that now the Prince looks upon all as belonging to him in Property: He impoſes Tribute, and ſuch as he pleaſes, without conſulting either the People, or Grandees, or States, or Parliaments. I am going to tell you a thing which is certain, which a thouſand People know, though moſt of our French-men are ignorant of it: Under the Miniſtry of Monſieur *Colbert* it was had in Conſultation whether the King ſhould not put himſelf in actual Poſſeſſion of all the Funds, and all the Lands of *France*, and whether they ſhould not all be reduced into Royal Demeſne, to be enjoyed and ſettled on whom the Court ſhould think convenient, without having regard either to ancient Poſſeſſion, or to Inheritance, or to other Rights, juſt as the *Mahometan* Princes of *Turkey*, *Perſia*, and *Mogull*, have made themſelves Maſters in Property of all Funds, and the Poſſeſſion of which they give to whom they think fitting, but only for Life: Monſieur *Colbert* ſent for a * famous Traveller, who had ſpent ſeveral Years in the Eaſtern Courts, and examin'd him a long time about the manner of adminiſtring thoſe Eſtates; and this induc'd the Traveller to publiſh a Letter directed to that Miniſter, wherein he endeavours to ſhew that this Unhappy Tyranny is the Cauſe that the fineſt Countries in the Eaſt are become Deſarts; no Body any longer poſſeſſes any Fund in Property, wherefore no Body any longer thinks of improving them; they draw from them as much as they can; they exhauſt them, as knowing they only poſſeſs them during Life; nay, and this is the occaſion that Men marry very little, have only Concubines, and ſcatter themſelves in a thouſand dirty barren Pleaſures, becauſe they have it not at heart to raiſe up Families, to which they have nothing to leave. See, I beſeech you, to what a paſs you are come, and under what Govern-

* *Bernier.*

Government you live; when there ſhall come an Adminiſtrator of the Finances, that ſhall be a degree bolder than was Monſieur *Colbert*; all your Inheritances will be wreſted from you in one day, you will become Farmers, and pay to your Prince the rent of all your Properties. The main of the thing is already done; already is the Prince perſwaded that he has a right to do this; the Conſiderations of Conſcience are already annihilated, he has only been detain'd by reaſons of State: Be aſſured that Reaſons of State are not eternal Truths, and that they change when occaſion offers.

How many Exceſſes and Violences are there committed in the Leavy of the Impoſts? the ſmalleſt Collector of the Exciſe is a ſacred Perſon, has an abſolute Power over Gentlemen, over the Members of Juſtice, and over all the People; one blow given is capable of ruining the moſt potent of Subjects: They take away out of houſes, Moveables, Cattel, Money, Corn, Wine, and all that is found. The Priſons are full of miſerable Wretches, that are oblidg'd to anſwer for ſumms which they have impos'd upon other Wretches that cannot pay what is exacted of them. Nothing is more harſh and cruel than the Impoſt upon Salt: People are made to pay ten or twelve Pence the Pound, for a thing which Nature, the Sun and the Sea gives us for nothing, and which might be had for a Farthing. Under colour of raiſing the Dues upon Salt, the Kingdom is cover'd with a vaſt Army of Villains, call'd, *Archers de la Gabelle*, who go into Houſes with Authority, break into the moſt ſecret Places, and fail not of finding falſe Salt, wherever they think Money may be found; the poor Wretches are fined immenſe ſumms, they are forc'd to rot in Priſons, Families are ruin'd. Salt is impos'd in moſt places, and each Family is forc'd to take three times more than it can ſpend. In Countreys bordering upon the Sea, they will not ſuffer the poor Peaſant to carry away the Sea-water, they break his Pitcher, beat the People, and impriſon them. In a word, there is no ſort of

Violence

Violence but is thereby committed, as well as by raiſing the other Impoſts, which is perform'd with horrible Charges, ſeizures of the Fruits, Impriſonments, Pleas before the Commiſſioners and Court of Aids, Expences that exceed the Principal: They put into the hands of the Rabble the means of revenging themſelves on their Enemies, and of mortifying People of faſhion. A Collector impoſes upon a Man a Tax twice or thrice beyond his Revenue: Now what Remedy? You muſt pay by Proviſion three or four hundred Crowns, to which a Man is taxed, who does not poſſeſs the moiety of that Revenue; afterwards you are to look for your remedy, that is to ſay, mount from Bar to Bar unto the ſovereign Court, plead three or four Years, ſpend in Law three times as much as the Principal is worth, and at the end of all this get nothing; for they who manage the King's Affairs, and look after his Dues, have always reaſon, and are always in the right. *France* is one of the Countries in the World the moſt abounding in Wine, and this was formerly its Wealth, but is now its Poverty: The Impoſts upon Wines (as well Wines that are tranſported as thoſe that ſtay at home) are ſo great, that they almoſt ſwallow up all, and the Proprietor has nothing.

Thus is all *France* reduc'd to the utmoſt Poverty. In the former Reigns, that is to ſay, ſince the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and under that of Cardinal *Mazarine*, *France* was already loaden with great Impoſts, but the manner of raiſing them, though it was very juſt, yet did much leſs exhauſt the Kingdom than the manner of raiſing them now: At that time *Credit* and *Protection* had room; the Gentleman that had Credit protected his Pariſh, and eſpecially his Farmers, and caus'd their Taxes to be diminiſh'd: The great Lord ſcreen'd his Vaſſals from Oppreſſion; the Judge and the Magiſtrate had his People whom he upheld; few rich Perſons were there but made Friends to ſhelter themſelves from Oppreſſion. Thus the whole burden fell upon People without Protection, and without Friends, who indeed were utterly miſerable.

miſerable: But at leaſt there remained in the Kingdom a vaſt number of People who were at their eaſe, and who did Honour to the State: The preſent Government has ſucceeded that; Monſieur *Colbert* has made a Project of Reformation of the Finances, and has cauſed it to be executed with the utmoſt rigour: But wherein does this Reformation conſiſt? It is not to leſſen the Impoſts for the eaſe of the People? it is in augmenting them very much, by ſpreading them over all thoſe that formerly put themſelves under cover by their own Credit, and that of their Friends. The Gentleman has no longer any Credit to obtain the diminution of the Tax to his Pariſh, his Farmers pay as well as others, and more. The Officers of Juſtice, Lords, and other Perſons of Character, have now no longer any Credit, to the Prejudice of the King's Revenue; all pays, this is a mighty Ayr, a mighty ſhew of Juſtice: But what has this fair Juſtice produc'd? It has ruin'd all People: The Wretches whom the Impoſts have ruin'd in the former Years have been diſcharg'd, but that diſcharge can in no wiſe contribute to the raiſing them up again; they have now nothing left, and of nothing nothing comes. And beſides the burdens that have been left upon them, though ſomething leſs, are more than ſufficient to hinder them from getting up again. In the mean while, thoſe who had Protection, having no longer any, they bear the burden in their turns, and by this means all is ruined without exception. Thus you ſee to what that great ſhrewdneſs in Finances does redound, that was ſo much boaſted of in the late Monſieur *Colbert*: He has augmented the King's Revenues above the half.

Firſt, He has augmented the Impoſts.

Secondly, He has aſſign'd the raiſing of them upon all People that were at their eaſe in the Kingdom. And,

Finally, He has retrench'd the great Gains of the Financiers: He has ſtretch'd the King's Farms to the utmoſt extremity: They who take up the King's Dues, have nothing more left to gain by, thoſe Spunges are ſqueez'd dry.

Much the ſame Method did we uſe to make People of Buſineſs diſgorge all they had got in the former Miniſtry. Courts of Juſtice have been erected, wherein the ſuperintendant *Foucquet*, as alſo all Intendants of the Finances, Treaſurers of the Exchequer, *Traitans*, Farmers, Receivers, even to petty Clarks, are made to come to an Account: They have been made to reſtore all they had taken, nay, and all they had not taken, with unheard of Violences and Injuſtice: The only Juſtice there has been in this Proſecution, is, that thoſe Gentlemen who had done great Injuſtices to private Perſons and other Individuals, have run the Gauntlet of the ſame Injuſtice, under the King and Governments Authority. Thus do they exact and raiſe Impoſts; if this be not the utmoſt Tyranny, I muſt own that I underſtand nothing of the matter.

After this if we conſider the uſe that has been made of thoſe immenſe Summs that are leavied with ſo many Exceſſes and Exactions, we ſhall therein alſo ſee all the Characters of Oppreſſion and Tyranny. It ſometimes happens that Princes and Sovereigns make Leavies that ſeem exceſſive, and which indeed do extreamly incommode individuals: But this is when they are forced thereunto, by what is called the Needs and Neceſſities of the State: There is no ſuch like thing in *France*; there is neither Needs nor *State*: No *State*: Formerly the *State* entered every where, nought elſe was diſcours'd of ſave the Intereſts of the *State*, of the Needs of the *State*, of the Preſervation of the *State*, of the Service of the *State*; to ſpeak ſo now a-dayes, would literally be accounted a Crime of High Treaſon. The King has taken the Place of the State: It is for the *King*'s *Service*, it is the *King*'s *Intereſt*, it is for the Preſervation of the *King*'s Provinces and Revenues. In ſhort, the *King* is all, and the State is no longer any thing; and theſe are not only words and terms, they are realities. At the *French* Court there is now no other Intereſt known than the Kings Perſonal Intereſt, that is to ſay, *His Grandeur and his*

his Glory: This is the Idol to which are ſacrific'd Princes, Grandees, the Little, Families, Provinces, Cities, Finances, and generally all. Thus it is not for the good of the State that theſe horrible exactions are made, for there is no longer any thing of the State, nor is it for Needs; for *France* never had fewer, excepting within theſe few Months; for theſe thirty Years it had no Enemies, ſave ſuch as it would by all means incurr: It might have lived in perfect Tranquility, All the Powers of *Europe* that might give it any Umbrage were brought low: The Thrones were poſſeſſed either by Infant Princes, or by Sovereigns of a mean Capacity, and of a calm, a peaceable humour, exempt from ambition. The Treaties of *Munſter* and of the *Pyrences* had extended its Frontiers, and had put under cover its antient Provinces by the New Countries that had been yielded to it. Never did *France* ſee ſo propitious a time, and ſo proper to live happy in, and to become rich and powerful. And on the contrary, never did its miſery and ſlavery mount to ſo high a pitch: Wherefore its Money has not been employed in its defence, and in repelling the Invaſions of the Enemy.

This Money is only employed in foſtering and ſerving the greateſt Self-love, and the vaſteſt Pride that ever was. It is ſo vaſt an Abyſs, that it would have ſwallowed up not only the Wealth of the whole Kingdom, but that of all other States, if it could have ſeiz'd it, as it endeavoured to do. The King has caus'd more falſe Incenſe to be given him, than all the Demy-gods of the *Pagans* have had real: Never was Flattery puſh'd to ſuch a degree: Never did Man love Praiſes and vain glory to the point that Prince has courted it. He foſters in his Court and about him a crowd of Flatterers, that enhance upon one another: He not only permits the erecting of * Statues to him, on the foot of which are engraven Blaſphemies to his Honour, and below which are fetter'd all the Nations of the World in Chains; but he himſelf cauſes himſelf to be put into Goſd, Silver, Braſs, Copper, Marble, Cloth, Pictures, Paintings, triumphant Arches,

* *The Statue of the* Place des Victoires, *with this Inſcription,* Viro Immortali.

Inſcriptions: He fills all *Paris*, all his Pallaces, and the whole Kingdom with his Name and his Deeds; as if he had left the *Alexanders*, the *Cæſars*, and all the Heroes of Antiquity a thouſand leagues behind him: And all for having ſnapt from a weak and minour Prince, three or four Provinces; for having known to take advantage of the Diviſions of the Empire, and of the little Union and Underſtanding that is between its Members; for having ſtript a poor Duke; for having purchas'd ſeveral important places; for having deſolated half of his own Kingdom by the perſecution of Calviniſm. Thus you ſee what the Greatneſs of *Lewis* the great amounts to, it is a ſelf-love of an immenſe greatneſs. And it is that enormous paſſion which devours ſo many Riches, and to which ſo many Sacrifices are made.

Thus the immenſe Revenues of the Crown are employ'd, Firſt in ſumptuous Buildings, for the Kings glory. We ſhall never know what *Verſailles* coſt; and ſhould we know it and ſay it, Poſterity would never believe it in the leaſt. It coſts nothing to build and erect ſtately Piles, with prodigious charges, then pull them down again, to raiſe them up afreſh upon a new Platform, iſſuing from the Caprice of an Architect coming from God knows where. His Anceſtors were not well enough lodged: The *Louvre*, *Fountainbleau*, *S. Germain*, were too ſmall to lodge ſuch a Prince; ſomething greater and more magnificent than all this was neceſſary. That the King's Grandeur might appear the more, it was requiſite to build that magnificent Pallace in a place diſgrac'd by Nature, and bring thither all the Ornaments which it was depriv'd of, with prodigious Expences. It is a Place dry and without Water, and to convey Waters thither the face of Nature muſt be chang'd, Valleys be made where there were Mountains, Waters raiſed up to the Clouds, the Current of Rivers diverted, Ponds and Lakes made in places where there were no other than ſandy Grounds: Who can reckon the Millions of Gold that have been ſpent, and

and the Thouſands of Men that have periſh'd in the bare Works of the River of *Eure?* Is it not a mighty Delight for a State that finds its Veins drain'd to the very laſt drop of its Blood, and its Bowels torn out of its Boſom, to ſee them employ'd for the erecting Eternal Monuments to the Vanity of the Prince? Will it not be a ſolid advantage for the Kingdom, when it ſhall be one day ſaid that it is a Work of *Lewis* the Great? He has conſum'd therein two or three hundred Millions; He has forc'd Nature; He has buried more Lead in the Entrails of the Earth, than is got out of Mines in ſeveral years; He has ſpared nothing to enrich it with Marbles, Guildings, Paintings, rich Movables, precious Jewels that have been purchas'd or brought from all parts of the World. After this, who can have any regret for his Money, his Movables, his Funds, that have been torn away by Exactions?

So great a Prince, ſo ſuperbly lodg'd, cannot be at any mean Expence in ſo great a Houſe. Wherefore, in it, muſt be conſumed in Tables, in Officers, in Miſtreſſes, in Trains that are kept for them, in Fortunes conferr'd upon their Relations, in Feaſts, *Opera's*, Comedies, Ballets, in what is call'd Appartments, in Preſents to Women and Favourites, in Guards and in Penſions, there muſt, I ſay, be expended once or twice more than was formerly expended in the maintaining of Armies and the Frontier Places of the State. Is not this well laying out the Money of the Kingdom? Can it be queſtion'd but that the King is all, and that His Self-love is the Divinity to which all is ſacrific'd? The King makes ſome Expences which ſeem to be for the Publick: He has caus'd a Canal to be made for the Conjunction of the two Seas. This is for the conveniency of Commerce. I know not whether the Prince is Himſelf the Cully of his own Heart. But no body queſtions but that this prodigious Undertaking, which can never be accompliſh'd, was form'd out of a principle of Vain-glory as well as the reſt. It is to leave to Poſterity a Monument of his Grandeur by the prodigious Expences He ſhall have been at in ſuch a Work. The truth is, that it will not ſubſiſt, and that the Floods will

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ruin it the firſt year it ſhall be neglected; and that at the long run it will be abandoned, becauſe the Expence of the Maintenance will by much ſurpaſs the profit. But no matter; theſe will be great Ruines that will denote the Greatneſs of Soul of Him that form'd the Project of them, and upon which will be written

Quem ſi non tenuit, magnis tamen excedit auſis.

Would you know another Article of Expence which conſumes prodigious Summs? It is the immenſe Liberalities beſtow'd upon Favourites, the making of Creatures and new Princes in the World. The Family of *Tellier* poſſeſſes, poſſibly, fourſcore or a hundred Millions of Land; the Family of *Colbert* has much about the ſame, and others proportionably. There are Subjects in *France* much richer than are ſeveral Soveraigns in *Europe*, who, nevertheleſs, make a fair figure. If regard was had to the State and to its Intereſts, the Expences could not be worſe laid out; for the new Grandees that ſtart up from the Dirt, and mount up to the ſide of the Throne, only ſerve to pull down the ancient Houſes, and bring them to nothing. They are the Tyrants of the State, and the Blood-ſuckers. It would be much more uſeful that the Wealth was ſpread among the Publick, than Pocketed by one private Perſon. It may be ſaid to be Wealth loſt for the Kingdom, for out of thoſe great Reſervers into which the King cauſes all the ſubſtance of his Subjects to flow, there never comes out any thing again for the good of the State, ſince that thoſe great Families are exempt from all charges. In fine, there is injuſtice in reducing ſo many Families to Beggery, for the cauſing People of a low and mean Birth to live in a Royal abundance, and in the midſt of a thouſand ſuperfluities. But no matter, this makes, and this proves the Prince's Greatneſs. Theſe are *Coloſſuſſes*, that ſhew the vaſt Imagination and great Capacity of the Workman. People will one day ſhew thoſe ſtately Houſes of new Erection, and ſay, Thoſe are the Works of *Lewis* the Great; judge how great He was that made them. Unleſs it comes to paſs that a new Star ſhould riſe with the Succeſſor, which ſhould

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pour upon thoſe new-rais'd Houſes the very ſame Influences as thoſe which have deſolated the *Foucquets* and his like, which every Individual hopes for his Comfort and Revenge.

Let's laſtly come to the Expences that ſeem the beſt laid out. The King expends infinitely in Penſions. Hardly is there a Prince in *Europe* but to whom He is become tributary. Where He cannot gain the Prince Himſelf with Money, He gains Favourites, the Miniſters, and oftentimes the Princeſs, who ſleeps in the Soveraign's Boſom; they are paid large Penſions, Preſents are made them: and by this means our Court reigns every-where; the King expends infinitely in Armies and in Troops. In the midſt of Peace He maintains more Forces than the moſt War-like of his Anceſtors did maintain in the moſt cruel Wars. He makes War upon his Neighbours, which ever redound to his profit. In Wars He luggs after him prodigious Armies, but He has alſo augmented the Kingdom with Five great Provinces, *Alſace*, *la Franche Comte*, *Lorraine*, *Luxembourg* and *Flanders*, which make a Kingdom, and render *France* the terrour of all *Europe*. Can Expences be better employed? and can one have regret for what one has loſt, ſince the Publick has gain'd ſo much thereby? In effect it is an Expence well laid out, ſuppoſing the Principle they now build at Court, *That the Prince is all, that the People is nothing, and that all ought only to tend to the King's Grandeur.* For certainly all this ſerves to compoſe the Sir-name of *Great*, which is added to the Name of *Lewis*. But if inſtead of this falſe Principle we ſuppoſe the true Principle, which is, That the Good of the State and of the Publick ought to be the Soveraign's Law, it would appear that what is called the Glory of *France*, is the greateſt of all its Evils. Becauſe that thoſe Conqueſts (of which ſo much Honour is made) are unjuſt, odious and burthenſome to the State. *They are unjuſt.* Our Money and our Forces have ſerved to ſeize three Provinces from a Pupil King, under I know not what Title. And in vertue of a certain Right of the Children of the firſt Marriages, which has only vigour in ſome Places of *Brabant*, which only

only regards private Perſons: Nay, and to which Renunciation had been made by Marrying the Daughter of *Spain*, by an Act as expreſs and ſolemn as had ever been made. Our Money is laid out to gain Miniſters in Foreign Courts, that ſo they may perſwade their Maſters to ſell us Places. Thus did we acquire *Dunkerk* from the *Engliſh*, and *Cazal* from the Duke of *Mantua*, that have coſt ſo many Millions. Our Finances are ſquander'd away in paying Traytors that ſell us Towns, or facilitate the Conqueſt of them to us. Thus was *Strasbourg* acquired, and moſt of the Conquer'd Countries. In fine, the Money of the Realm is laid out to maintain numerous Armies, and carry on unjuſt Wars, which render the *French* Name odious to all *Europe*, perſwade the World that *France* aims at the Univerſal Monarchy, and that it thinks to attain thereunto by Infidelities, Treaſons, Violences, Violation of the moſt holy Treaties, of Peaces, Capitulations, by unheard-of Barbarities, by Burnings, and diſmal Deſolations. Though Conqueſts were worth any thing to us, were they to be purchas'd at ſuch a rate?

But furthermore, Who is there but ſees that the Conqueſts, inſtead of proving the Grandeur of State, are onorous to it, and its ruin? We are mad, and it is our folly that foſters our ſlavery. When the King wins a Battle, takes a City, ſubdues a Province, we make Bonefires, and no pitiful poor Creature but fancies himſelf rais'd a foot higher, and annexes the Greatneſs of the King to his own Idea. This rewards him for all his Loſſes, and comforts him for all his Miſeries. And He does not conſider that He loſes gradually as the King gains. Firſt, the Prince's Greatneſs does ever prove the Miſery of his Subjects. For the more Puiſſant a Prince is, the more He abandons Himſelf to his Paſſions, becauſe He ſatisfies them with the more eaſe. Now Ambition, Avarice, Luxury, Expences, are ever the Paſſions of the Great. With the more eaſe they oppreſs, the more they oppreſs. And accordingly we ſee that the Subjects of Princes Potent in Demeſns, in Money, in Provinces, in Arms, are ever the moſt wretched and

and the moſt oppreſſed. Let us but view in the Eaſt how People live under thoſe powerful Emperors of *Turkey*, *Perſia*, and the great *Mogul*; wherefore it is the Intereſt of the People to keep their Kings in a mediocrity of Power, that ſo they may not oppreſs their Liberty. Secondly, Now ſhould I be glad that our *French-men*, who pride themſelves ſo much in five or ſix Provinces, and above two hundred places which the King has conquer'd or built, from *Dunkirk* as far as *Baſle*, I ſhould be glad, I ſay, they would tell me at whoſe coſts thoſe Provinces are kept, guarded and maintain'd? The new Subjects are Lyons and Wolves that are held by the Ears; they gnaſh their teeth, and are ever ready to devour, as ſoon as they ſee an opportunity for ſo doing: They have an abhorrence for the *French* ſway, and only watch for occaſions to caſt off its Yoak; wherefore they are ever to be under Guards. And indeed we have not been contented with the antient Cittadels that were found in the conquer'd Provinces: New ones have been built throughout all *Flanders*, on the *Sarre*, on the *Rhine*, and even to the Gates of *Baſle*. How many Garriſons, how many Governours are there to be maintained? I lay it down as matter of Fact, that the King does not receive from thoſe conquer'd Countries the half quarter of what is neceſſary to keep them; who is it that furniſhes the reſt? Is it not the antient Demeſne of the Crown? Does it not come from the antient Provinces? Thus you ſee what the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Brittany*, *Champagne*, *Guyenne*, *Languedock*, &c. gain by the matter: They muſt furniſh thirty or forty Millions to maintain the King's Grandeur, and preſerve his Conqueſts. *Laſtly*, To be fully convinced how much theſe New Conqueſts are burdenſome to the State, conſider the jealouſie of the Neighbours; though theſe New Subjects ſhould be ſubdued, and accuſtomed to obey the King, their Neighbours would then be accuſtomed to ſee him poſſeſs their ſubſtance, and their antient Patrimony: And would they not be under apprehenſions, that by leaving him what he has already taken, they ſhould

afford him the means of taking what he has not yet in his hands. To proceed with the ſame rapidity *France* has done, the moſt *Chriſtian* King would be Maſter of all *Europe* in twenty Years time: This is well underſtood, and this is what will ever egg on our Neighbours to make Leagues and conſpire our Ruine: You ſee the Effect of the Prophecy. Whence comes this formidable League of all *Chriſtian* Princes, who unanimouſly conſpire our Ruine, ſave from the Jealouſie created in them by the Kings greatneſs? wherefore *France* muſt perpetually keep great Armies on foot, and who ſhall pay them? it will not be the Countrey newly conquer'd: On the contrary, that muſt be eas'd, that ſo it may not join with our Enemies; and beſides, it will be looked upon as ſufficiently galled, by being the Stage of War. Thus it is the old Kingdom of *France* that muſt bear all the burdens, and which is already overwhelmed with the weight of its New Conqueſts. Now this is the uſe made of the Finances, and of the immenſe Summs ſqueez'd out of us.

Now to make manifeſt the Oppreſſion the People are under from the Impoſts, it is expedient to deſcribe the miſeries *France* has thereby been reduc'd to: But it is requiſite to draw the Curtain over this Object; nothing ought to be ſaid upon it, becauſe enough cannot be ſaid upon it: It is requiſite for a Body to be here as we are to ſpeak of it well; the Kingdom is ſo leſſen'd, ſpeaking generally, that there is a quarter part, or third, fewer Inhabitants than there were fifty Years ago: With exception to *Paris*, whither all People flock as to a Sanctuary, and which by this means daily augments; the Cities are the half leſſen'd in Riches and Inhabitants: Some had enrich'd themſelves by Commerce, but the failure of Commerce ruines them: Other Cities, eſpecially the ſmaller, are half Deſart: There are Cities that paid the King thirty or forty thouſand Livres that now cannot furniſh ten. The upper Countrey is become deſolate: The Burroughs and Villages

Villages are hardly ought other than Dilapidations; ſeveral Lands are uncultivated for want of hands to cultivate them: The Peaſant lives after the moſt wretched manner imaginable, and they are as black and tawny as the Slaves of *Affrica*, and all that is in them proclaims their miſery. Money is no longer to be found in the Provinces, the Nobleſſe is beggarly, the Citizen in diſtreſs; thoſe who have Money conceal it as if they conceal'd a Criminal of State at their Houſe. No other Money is now ſeen than what turns into the King's Coffers.

The End of the Second Memorial.

FINIS.

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